

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GRANGER MOVEMENT UPON THE EDUCATIONAL
AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE AGRICULTURAL
CLASS OF KANSAS FROM 1872-1876

by

BERTHA EVILIE WESTFORTH

A. B., Friends University, 1903

A THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

KANSAS STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

1929

Doc
ment
LD
2668
.T4
1929
41
C.2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE FARMER'S PROBLEM	page 8
THE PROBLEM IN KANSAS	22
ATTEMPTS AT SOLUTION	35
SOME RESULTS OBTAINED	84
LITERATURE CITED	92

PREFACE

Much has been written concerning the Patrons of Industry, that organization which initiated and carried on what is popularly known as the Grange Movement. The Grange has been fully discussed in its relation to the political issues and the economic problems of the farming population of the South and the West.

Two very important phases of the work, the educational and the social, have not been so widely discussed nor have they at all times been taken into consideration in studying this great organization, and the part it had in helping to determine the policy of the West and of our own state, Kansas.

This study is an attempt to trace the development of the Grange in the influence it exerted upon the life of the rural population of Kansas in those two very vital factors, their educational facilities and their social opportunities. The motives that have prompted this study are an interest in the life of a pioneer people, and a desire better to understand the conditions in which they lived.

In the study of this movement there has been an attempt to find an answer to the questions which are stated below:

1. Did the Patrons of Husbandry bring about the enactment of laws that were beneficial to the farmer?
2. Did they foster a fraternal spirit?
3. Did they influence social development?
4. Did they foster and promote education?
5. Did they improve the economic conditions of the rural population?
6. Did they have influence in the political field?
7. Did they favor a law prohibiting the making and selling of intoxicating liquors?
8. Did they favor equal social, economic and political rights for men and women?
9. Did they raise the standing of the agricultural population in their relation to those of other vocations of life?
10. Did they broaden the views of life of the rural population?
11. Did the educational and social features of the Grange constitute its most permanent service?

The general bibliographical aids which I used were the following: Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Poole's Index, History of Kansas Newspapers and the bibliographical index in Duck's Granger Movement. I also found valuable

suggestions in the books I read.

The libraries to which I had access were those of the Kansas State Agricultural College and the Kansas State Historical Society. The National Grange Monthly furnished me with helpful material at my request.

I used printed official records and reports of the Grange, but did not find any manuscript records of proceedings. In an interview with J. S. Swingle of Manhattan, he read me from his manuscript account of his early recollections of the Manhattan Grange. The nature and extent of secondary material used is indicated in the bibliography.

My material divides into four parts, namely: general conditions; causes for and organizations of the movement in Kansas; developments in Kansas; the permanent results of the movement.

Under this form of organization the first section is intended to present the conditions that confronted the rural population of the United States. The second division shows the problem facing the pioneers on the farms of Kansas. The third division tells of the attempts of the farmers to solve their problem. The fourth division shows the permanent results of the movement.

From the study of the Grange movement the conclusion reached is that it was a very important factor in the

development and progress of the rural population of Kansas. It was a progressive movement for some of the policies which it advocated have been enacted into law, others have become a part of the customs and practices of the people. It stood for the regulation of transportation facilities by the government. It was opposed to the use of intoxicating liquors. The principles embodied in its constitution placed women on an equality with men in the work of the order. It showed its fraternal power when it united the North, the South and the West in a common cause and a common struggle in behalf of the rural population of these sections. It was a factor in raising the standard of educational requirements through its influence in legislation. It gave opportunity for contact and intercourse with many communities, states and countries, thus affording greater educational and social opportunities.

Since many of the principles which the Grange advocated have become a part of our political, economic, educational and social policies, the claim, that it was a very important factor in the development and progress of the rural population of Kansas in the pioneer period, may be justified.

I wish to express my appreciation to the Librarians of the Kansas State Agricultural College and of the Kansas

State Historical Society for their helpful assistance in finding material upon this subject. I am very grateful to Dr. F. A. Shannon and to Prof. I. V. Iles for their assistance in the development of this study.

THE FARMER'S PROBLEM

1

The founding of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry is usually attributed to seven men, who either lived or were employed in Washington, D. C. Of these the outstanding one was Oliver Hudson Kelley, who was born in Boston in 1826, and died in Washington, D. C., in January, 1915. He was Secretary of the National Grange from its founding in 1867 until 1873, when he resigned this position. Later he was secretary by election for six years.

Other founders of the Order were: William Saunders, First Master of the National Grange; William M. Ireland, Treasurer of the National Grange in its early days; the Reverend A. B. Grosh, first Chaplain of the National Grange; the Reverend John Trimble, Secretary of the National Grange for twenty-one years, but chiefly instrumental in formulating the seventh degree and preparing the ritual¹. Because of the conspicuous service which Miss Carrie Hall of Boston rendered in those early days of the Order, the National Grange, at its annual session in 1893,

¹"The Founders of the Order", in The National Grange Monthly, Vol. XXIII, No. 10, (October, 1926), p. 3; Thomas Clark Atkeson, Semi-Centennial History of Patrons of Husbandry. (New York, 1916), p. 68.

adopted a resolution in which it was definitely stated that the National Grange should recognize her as one of the Founders of the Order².

The first announcement to the public concerning the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry was that a number of distinguished agriculturists, of the various states of the Union, had met at Washington, D. C., in December, 1867, and had effected an organization which was meeting with encouragement. The real facts of the case were that the members consisted of one fruit grower and six government clerks, equally distributed among the Post-Office and Treasury Departments, and the Bureau of Agriculture. But Oliver Hudson Kelley, a free mason, was the man who first conceived the idea of a fraternal organization to unite the farmers of the United States³.

The condition of the agricultural class at this time made them ready to consider anything that promised relief and offered to put farming on an equality with other industries. In the South the ravages of war had devastated

² Thomas Clark Atkeson, "Six Decades of Grange Accomplishments", The National Grange Monthly, Vol. XXIII, no. 10 (October, 1926), p. 27.

³ Charles W. Pierson, "The Rise of the Granger Movement", in Popular Science Monthly, Vol. XXXII (December, 1887), pp. 189-200; Solon J. Buck, "The Agrarian Crusade", being Vol. XLV of The Chronicles of America, Allen Johnson, editor (New Haven, 1921), p. 3; Solon J. Buck, The Granger Movement, 1870-1880, being Vol. XIX of Harvard Historical Studies (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 40-41.

many sections of the country, labor conditions had been changed, and furthermore, the South was oppressed by burdens very similar to those under which the West was struggling. In the West the prices for farm products were low; the cost of transportation was high and the rates of interest were exorbitant. It was impossible for the farmer to meet the mortgages which were fast falling due. Moreover, many of the western farmers had invested deeply in railroad stock, which they lost when the railroads went bankrupt during the panic of 1873. When these roads were reorganized the farmers were left out but they continued to pay high rates for transportation. These conditions aroused the farmers to demand and to struggle for what they termed justice⁴.

The South had to adjust itself to the changes wrought by the Civil War. It was facing new problems politically, economically and socially. The government at Washington wanted to procure "statistical and other information from those States"⁵. In 1866 President Johnson authorized the Commissioner of Agriculture to send a clerk in his bureau

⁴Allan Nevins, The Emergence of Modern America, 1860-1876, being Vol. VIII of A History of American Life, Arthur Meier Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox editors (New York, 1927), pp. 160-161; Frank Titus, "The Grange Problem" in Kansas Magazine, Vol. IV (September, 1873), pp. 232-236.

⁵Duck, The Agrarian Crusade, p. 1.

on a trip through the southern states to obtain all the information he could concerning conditions there⁶.

Oliver Hudson Kelley was the man sent on this mission. He had experienced something of the privations and hardships of a pioneer, and had farmed enough to know some of the problems and conditions that confronted the farmer. His character especially suited him for this mission. He was intelligent, sympathetic, energetic, and possessed that perseverance and determination which carried through whatever undertaking he began.

In his trip through the South he looked upon the southern farmers as fellow agriculturists. He considered their difficulties from several view points and concluded that their greatest hindrance to advancement was apathy and their holding to the methods of their grandfathers. This attitude, he thought, was caused by the lack of social opportunities⁷.

Concerning his trip through the South Kelley says in part: "I made a short stay in Virginia and North Carolina and reached Charleston, South Carolina, January 29. Here and in the vicinity I remained until the 15th of March,

⁶Oliver Hudson Kelley, Origin and Progress of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry, 1865-1875. (Philadelphia, 1875), p. 13.

⁷Huck, Agrarian Crusade, p. 3.

visiting rice and cotton plantations and obtaining much valuable information. In my intercourse with planters it was evidently no disadvantage to be a member of the Masonic fraternity and as such I was cordially received."

When news was received from Washington on February 27, 1867, that the white troops were to be recalled from the South there was quite a stir, and a large number of Northerners who were stopping at the Mills house left for home on the first train. Kelley remarked at the time, that politicians could never restore peace in the country; if it came at all, it must be through fraternity⁸.

Charles W. Pierson says that the Grange is largely a conception of O. H. Kelley, a free mason, who, after a trip through the South, saw the need for social and educational betterment and progress. By the use of ritual, secrecy, and fraternity he hoped to effect a permanent organization. Kelley resigned his clerkship and started out to organize granges. He never lost his faith and staked his all; position, friends, home, everything. He worked, borrowed, advertised; used strategy, pretense, anything to carry on the work⁹.

⁸Kelley, op. cit., p. 13.

⁹Pierson, loc. cit., p. 200.

The conditions in the West have been discussed by many writers but are presented by Albert Shaw with especial clarity as follows: "The farmers of the West, were, as a class, in doleful circumstances during the decade following the war. Their condition may be summed up in the statement that they were buying in the highest markets and selling in the lowest. Their farms were mortgaged and they were paying extortionate rates of interest. Crops were large, but local markets were undeveloped and railroad rates to distant markets cut prices down to cost of production. Farm machinery was bought at ruinously high prices and paid for with promissory notes at the highest interest rates, which were often liens on the farm. Crops were often mortgaged long before harvest, and the pressure of tradesman's bills and mortgage debts necessitated the immediate sale of grain at any price. The credit system put the farmers at a great disadvantage in their purchases. Paal dealers, grocers, hardware and drygoods merchants in the trading towns and villages along the railway lines had one price for their town patrons and a higher price for the farmers. It was a decade of large profits for all the so-called middlemen, the grain buyers, the agents for implements and machines, merchants in all lines. And especially it was a time of unjust discriminations and greedy, irresponsible exactions

on the part of the railroads"¹⁰.

W. G. Sumner summarized the causes for the discontent of the farming class in essentially the following words. A depreciated currency, speculation and high prices prevailed. The rural population was moving to town. Spasmodic fluctuations in the price of money and materials affected by tariffs or by "corners" contrasted gravely with the steady rise in and steadiness of the price of staples governed by foreign markets¹¹.

By 1872 the farmers were in such a critical condition that they were beginning to think seriously along a number of lines leading to economic reform. The reduction and readjustment of the burden of taxation; the control of corporations in the interests of the people; the reduction and regulation of the cost of transportation; and an increase in the currency supply were problems of vital importance to them¹².

¹⁰ Albert Snaw, "Cooperation in the Northwest", in History of Cooperation in the United States, being Vol. VI of Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Norbert Baxter Adams, editor (Baltimore, 1905), p. 334.

¹¹ William Graham Sumner, "Causes of the Farmers' Discontent", in Nation, Vol. XVI (June 5, 1873), p. 391.

¹² Look, Agrarian Crusade, p. 18; Nation, Vol. XVII (December 11, 1873), p. 378.

The manufacturing, the commercial and the speculative interests had enjoyed prosperity in the period from 1870 to 1873, but for the farmers it was a period of bitter depression. Various causes contributed to these conditions. The Russian wheat fields were opened to European markets, due to railroad development in Ukraine, and the cessation of European wars after 1870 tended to lessen foreign demand for American crops. In the United States there had been a tremendous expansion of production in the years that immediately followed the Civil war. This expansion has been attributed to many causes: the demobilization of the armies, closing of war industries, increased immigration, the homestead law, the introduction of improved machinery, and the rapid advance of the railroads had all combined to drive the agricultural frontier westward with amazing speed. Then prices went down as a result of this increased production and decreased demand in European markets and it was difficult for the farmers to make a living. Moreover, most of them were in debt for their machinery and improvements and the farms were mortgaged¹⁵.

¹⁵ Edwin L. Godkin, "Another Aspect of the Farmers' Movement" in Nation, Vol. XVII (July 31, 1873), p. 66; Buck, Agricultural Crusade, p. 18.

Under these conditions the panic of 1873 fell with especial severity upon the farmers. They had nothing with which to satisfy their creditors and to renew their notes and mortgages was almost impossible. Many saw their years of hard labour go for nothing in a foreclosure sale. Even short loans were very difficult to obtain, and finally meant the placing of a mortgage upon the future crop. The private capitalist had charged enormous rates of interest and now, when loans at any rate whatever could not be obtained, the complaints of the farmers increased. The farmers now began to look upon the corporations, and especially the railroads, as the cause of their poverty and misfortunes¹⁴.

During the period of unusual enterprise following the civil war there was a cry for railroads to open up the country. Many farmers and farming communities bought railroad bonds, and were in sympathy with the policy of the government in making to corporations grants of land along the route of the railways which they were to construct. By 1873 the government had given the railroads about thirty-five million acres and was pledged to give the

¹⁴Titus, loc. cit., pp. 282-286; Mack, Granger Movement, pp. 10-21.

Pacific roads alone one hundred and forty-five million acres more¹⁵. Western municipalities vied with each other in issuing bonds to offer inducements to railroad building. D. C. Cloud makes the statement that "one acre out of eight and a half of the entire area of Iowa has been given to railroad corporations There were land grants, subsidies, bonds, subscriptions and taxes to the amount of five per cent of our entire valuation in one year"¹⁶.

Every farmer wanted a railroad for his town, and thought there should be two, in order to keep down the cost of transportation through competition. When the panic of 1873 struck the farmers, who were already staggering under burdens heavier than they could bear, they united in the cry "Organize". The common topic for discussion was the corruption in the building of many of the roads. Such expressions as "Credit Mobilier", "Wall Street Speculation", and "watered stock" were on the tongue of everyone¹⁷.

The Nation plead that widows and orphans were kept from want by their railroad stock, but the farmers replied that the stock was in the hands of such orphans as

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 22-23.

¹⁶ As quoted in Pierson, loc. cit., p. 203.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 203-204.

Commodore Vanderbilt and Jay Gould, who could look out for themselves¹⁸.

The farmers were determined that the railroads should comply with the complex railway law which had been passed by the Illinois legislature. "This law levied a heavy blow at rate discrimination, provided that there should be no special favors in handling or storage, and fixed maximum rates for freight and passengers. A commission of three was appointed to enforce the law"¹⁹. The railroads refused to comply with this law, so the farmers took enforcement into their own hands. Groups of them would board the train and refuse to pay a cent above the maximum fare stipulated by law. They resisted the trainmen, even drawing revolvers and bowie knives, if they tried to put them off. At the same time they made an attempt to punish the Chicago and Alton Railroad for rate discrimination. In 1873 the state supreme court declared the statute a violation of the state constitution but not of the national. A much more radical and effective act for rate regulation was passed by the state legislature the same year as a result of the agita-

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 204.

¹⁹ Nevins, op. cit., pp. 166-169; Kansas Farmer, Vol. X (March 15, 1875), p. 83.

tion. Other states rapidly followed the example of Illinois²⁰.

Another heavy burden of the American people was the taxes, for which there were many causes. Among these may be mentioned the public debts incurred in offering assistance to railroads and for other internal improvements, also the careless, extravagant, and corrupt use of the public funds during this period of corruption in public administration. Moreover, the taxes were not levied in proportion to ability to pay; most of the federal revenues were derived from articles of common consumption by the masses of the people²¹.

The farmers were not represented in Congress in proportion to the agricultural population. Sixty-one per cent of the members of the Forty-third Congress were lawyers, sixteen per cent had commercial or manufacturing interests while only seven per cent claimed to be farmers²².

The social and intellectual condition of the farmer was not so high as it had been in the earlier periods of the history of the United States. This change in position

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ "Agricultural Exposition of Corporate Laws", in Nation, Vol. XVII (August 23, 1873), p. 140.

²² Buck, Granger Movement, p. 36

was due, not so much to a positive decline in the status of the farmer, as to the rapid increase in the social and educational advantages of those who lived in the city. The agricultural colleges were yet in their infancy, and the funds which had been appropriated for their development had sometimes been misplaced. The agricultural press was weak, impractical and little patronized. The farmer knew little of the conditions and prospects of the various crops throughout the country, and the probable future conditions of the market. He knew but little of the usages of business and of economic principles or of their application to the political and economic problems of the day²³. But the farmers did know that they were not prospering as other classes or industries. The other industries were organized. Thus there was formed among the rural people the idea of some form of organization and this reached its fullest degree of realization in the Grange²⁴.

The political and economic features of the Grange have been discussed by many able scholars. In this study these phases will be considered only in relation to those influences that helped the rural population to higher

²³ Ibid., p. 37.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 36-39.

standards morally, socially and educationally. These factors were so similar in each of the states, that this study will attempt to treat of them in but one state, Kansas. The developments there were typical of those in the other states.

THE PROBLEM IN KANSAS

II

The first influences to consider in the grange movement in Kansas are those conditions which made it possible for the organization to flourish there.

Social conditions in the West made a fertile field for the development of farmer's organizations¹. H. V. Smalley says, "In no civilized country have the cultivators of the soil adapted their home life so badly to the conditions of nature as have the people of our great northwestern prairies. This is a strong statement, but I am led to the conclusion by ten years of observation in our plains region.

"The European farmer lives in a village where considerable social enjoyment is possible. The women gossip at the village wells and visit frequently at one another's houses; the children find playmates close at hand, there is a school and, if the village be not a very small one, a church. The post wagon rattles through the street every day The old men gather to smoke their pipes and talk In a

¹ Nevins, The Emergence of Modern America, p. 170

word, something takes place to break the monotony of life.²

In strong contrast to this home life was that of the American farmer of the great western prairies in the decades from 1870 to 1890. The size of the farm was usually not less than 160 acres, frequently 320 acres and sometimes 640 acres or more. Then there were the vacant tracts owned by eastern speculators or by mortgage companies. This condition was not peculiar to the frontier but extended even to the agricultural districts where there were more people.

In this western region nature tends to make life monotonous because of the sameness of the natural scenery. In those early days the treeless, undulating prairies stretched on and on, covered by wild grass and wild flowers in summer, and in winter sometimes covered with snow, but often bleak and bare³.

The dwelling house of the farmer, when built of lumber, was always poorly constructed and usually small. But often on the western prairies the farmer could not afford a frame house and had to live in a sod shanty or a dugout⁴.

²H. V. Smailey, "The Isolation of Life on Prairie Farms," in Atlantic Monthly, Vol. LXXII (September, 1872), p. 378.

³Ibid., p. 378.

⁴Ibid., pp. 379-382; Nevins, op. cit., illustration opposite p. 170. When the soil of the prairie is turned for the

The school houses were few in number and long distances apart. This meant, for some children, a walk daily to and from school of three miles or more each way. The term of school was short and, in many places, not continued during the coldest months.

There were few diversions to break the monotony of every day life. The drive to the nearest town for the supplies which the farm did not furnish was an event of great importance to the children of the family and gave the older people a chance to meet and talk. In but few places were church services and Sunday school conducted even in the summer, and it was rarely indeed that the church services were conducted throughout the entire year⁵.

first time the upturned turf is called sod. The grass roots hold the soil together firmly. This sod is broken into pieces suitable in size for laying the walls of the house. Houses built of these blocks of sod are termed sod shanties.

Dagouts were partly underground. In the plains country the excavation was made to a depth of several feet. The part of the dagout above the surface of the ground was made of any available building material, but frequently the blocks of sod were all that could be obtained for either the walls or the outer covering of the roof. Another type of dagout was an excavation in the side of a hill. In this latter type of dagout only the side with the entrance was exposed to the air and sunlight.

⁵ Smalley, loc. cit., pp. 370-382.

Those few settlers who were fortunate enough to obtain homesteads along the streams tell us that they fared much better than those on the prairies. There was always a supply of fuel, the streams were filled with fish, and wild game was plentiful. Their social opportunities were also somewhat better, but yet very meager indeed. The old settlers tell us about the gatherings at the school houses, and in some localities they had a literary society. Again some settlements, even before the advent of the school-house, held Sunday school and occasional church services, in the homes of the settlers, during the colder months and in the groves during the summer months. These gatherings kept alive and fostered a desire for social development that, perhaps, found expression in part in what has been termed the revolt of the farmer.

Isolation was but one of the hardships which the early settler in Kansas had to endure. The drought was a very discouraging feature. There were cloudless skies and rainless days that stretched on into weeks and months, ruining the crops and blighting the hopes of the people. The early settlers tell us that the drought of 1860 was

very severe. Vegetation withered and dried up. Even the grass on the prairies died out and only the big blue-stem that grew along the ravines was left for the stock. The settlers along the streams, and there were few elsewhere in Kansas at that time, had the advantage. Their hogs lived in the woods, and fattened upon the acorns and other nuts sufficiently to furnish a limited supply of pork. In the following winter of that year a severe snow storm drove the buffalo to seek feed and shelter along the streams. Many of these were killed and furnished meat not only for the winter but also for the next summer, for the settlers cured the meat and dried it.

Few were they who could endure the hardships and deprivations which these droughts caused and so it was no unusual sight to see the grimy covered wagons going eastward. Two expressions common to these wagons were "Going back to our wife's folks" and "In God we trusted in Kansas we busted".⁶

The early white settlers learned of an Indian tradition regarding a plague of grasshoppers in 1820. Some damage was done in the fall of 1854, and the report is that the crops were destroyed by the grasshoppers in 1855. In 1857

⁶Mevins, op. cit., p. 160.

the section of the country around Delaware Mission had the crops ruined by the grasshoppers.

The most destructive scourge of the locusts or grasshoppers came in 1874. As quoted by Blackmar the report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture for that year says, "About the 25th of July, one of those periodical calamitous visitations to which the trans-Mississippi states are liable once in from eight to ten years, made its appearance in northern and northwestern Kansas -- the grasshopper or locust. The air was filled and the fields and trees were completely covered with these voracious trespassers. At one time, the total destruction of every green thing seemed imminent. Their course was in a southerly and southeasterly direction, and before the end of August the swarming hosts were enveloping the whole state. The visitation was so sudden that the people of the state became panic-stricken. In the western counties, where immigration for the last two years had been very heavy, and where the chief dependence of the new settlers was corn, potatoes and garden vegetables, the calamity fell with terrible force."⁷

⁷ Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas history (Chicago, 1912), Vol. I, pp. 779-780.

The people in the ravaged counties had to have aid in rations and clothing or perian. The needs of Kansas appealed to the sympathy of the people of many states and will be considered later in this narrative.

Danger of attack from the Indians kept the pioneers in constant dread and fear. The encroachments of the white men upon the Indian reservations of the West had made them hostile. The Indians looked upon the railroads as being dangerous to their liberty, and robbing them of their ranges. Occasionally they struggled with the white men but, in the long run, always lost. The usual method of warfare of the Indians was to give no warning of their attack but, to creep unexpectedly upon the defenseless settlers. They scalped and mutilated the inmates of the dwellings, burned the haystacks and drove off the stock. The Indians claimed that in committing all these atrocious deeds they were only defending their hunting grounds⁵.

Histories of early Kansas relate many frightful atrocities committed by the Indians and by the lawless element of the whites, for these were a great menace to the life and safety of the pioneer. Vigilance committees were often

⁵Frederic Logan Paxson, The Last American Frontier (New York, 1910), pp. 245, 300-307.

organized to punish the offenders and to keep law and order. The following items are representative:

"May 30, 1869 - Indian raids on the Saline; thirteen persons killed and wounded".⁹

"May 10, 1870 - Seven outlaws from Indian territory break into the house of dangerously wounding him One of these ruffians was killed by his own part in a quarrel; five others were caught by the citizens and hanged on one tree."¹⁰

Kansas had the usual type of population of a frontier state. But among her pioneers were many ambitious and energetic people. These wished to acquire, as speedily as possible, the conveniences to which they had been accustomed in the East and to keep in touch with new developments.

The editor of the Nation declared that our modern frontiersmen, a part of whom were in Kansas, were of this type. He insisted on being followed up by all the modern conveniences. "Not only must he have the newspapers and magazines, but his wife and daughters must have a piano and silk dresses, and the new novels, and their minds instead of being intent on homely joys of the forest and the prairie are vexed by the social and religious discussions of the far

⁹ Daniel Webster Wilder, Annals of Kansas, 1841-1885, (Topeka, 1896), p. 603.

¹⁰ 1840., p. 518.

best. They went to hear Froude lecture, wonder what Plymouth church is going to do with Bowen, would like a chance of listening to Lucca, are eager to try the newest things in stoves, and wonder what the Emperor of Austria will think of the Illinois school house at the Vienna Exhibition."¹¹

Many of the Kansas pioneers were of that discontented class who began to investigate the causes for their financial difficulties and who tried to find a way to make conditions in Kansas better. It was the attempt to solve these problems that led to the rapid increase of grange organizations in the state.

The organization by John Ball at Hiawatha, Brown County on March 28¹², 1872^{13,14}, with forty-six members was probably the beginning of the grange movement in Kansas. The Osgood in Crawford County, was the first grange in the south-

¹¹ Godkin, "Another Aspect of the Farmers' Movement", in Nation, Vol. XVII, p. 60.

¹² Kelley, Patrons of Industry, p. 390.

¹³ A. T. Andreas, compiler, History of Kansas (Chicago, 1883), p. 203. Andreas differs from Kelley and gives April as the date for the organization of the grange at Hiawatha.

¹⁴ No newspapers of Brown County at that period are available. William E. Connelley, History of Kansas newspapers (Topeka, 1916), p. 160.

eastern part of the state. The number of organizations did not increase very rapidly at first and by December, 1872, there were only nine local granges in the whole state. In December, 1872, a temporary organization of a state grange was effected under the direction of Duane Wilson of Iowa¹⁵. A permanent state grange was organized at Lawrence, July 30, 1873, with 409 members of organized granges in attendance¹⁶.

¹⁵ Andreas, op. cit., p. 263

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 264. The following officers were elected: master, T. G. Boling; overseer, M. E. Hudson, steward, J. B. Richie; chaplain, W. S. Hanna; treasurer, M. E. Angell; secretary, G. W. Spurgeon; gate-keeper, C. W. Lawrence; Ceres, Mrs. Mattie Morris; Flora, Mrs. E. H. Charles; Pomona, Mrs. Amanda C. Hippey; lady assistant steward, Mrs. Jennie D. Richie; executive committee, F. H. Dunbould, W. P. Popenos and J. B. Schaeffer.

¹⁷ Interview with J. S. Swingle, July 2, 1929.

Manhattan Grange was organized December 13, 1873, at Oak Grove schoolhouse in school district No. 13, Riley County, Kansas, by John Limbocker, the county deputy. The meetings were held at this schoolhouse until December 12, 1874, at which time, with the consent of the master of the State Grange this organization was consolidated with Elbow Grange of Pottawatomie County and with Blumont Grange of College Hill. The name and the charter Manhattan Grange No. 748 were retained and thereafter the meetings were held in the city of Manhattan.

It is well known that all business enterprises were in a critical condition during the panic of 1873, but perhaps the farmers were the heaviest losers as a class. It was during this year that the number of organizations of the grange increased very rapidly. At the state grange meeting in Topeka in February, 1874, 975 organized granges were reported with a membership of 27,000. By April 1, 1874, the number of organizations had increased to 1,200 with a membership that exceeded 30,000¹⁸; at the close of the year 39,631¹⁹ members were enrolled. The total amount of dues accruing from the subordinate granges to the State Grange for the year 1874, as shown by the records, is \$12,907.00²⁰. In the number of organized granges, Kansas ranked third among the states in 1874, and the organizations continued to increase.²¹

The aims or purposes of the order cannot be expressed more clearly nor more concisely than in the declaration of purposes adopted by the national grange in its meeting held in St. Louis in December, 1874, especially those purposes

¹⁸ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (April 22, 1874), p. 124. ✓

¹⁹ Idem, Vol. XIII (March 3, 1875), p. 67.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ J. K. Hudson, "Patrons Hand-book", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (April 22, 1874), p. 124.

set forth in the Specific Objects. This reads as follows:

"To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves. To enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes, and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits. To foster mutual understanding and cooperation. To maintain inviolate our laws, and to emulate each other in labor, to hasten the good time coming. To reduce our expenses, both individual and corporate. To buy less and produce more in order to make our farms self-sustaining. To diversify our crops, and crop no more than we can cultivate. To condense the weight of our exports, selling less in the bushel and more on hoof and in fleeces; less in lint, and more in warp and woof. To systematize our work, and calculate intelligently on probabilities. To discountenance and credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system, and every other system tending to prodigality and bankruptcy.

"We propose meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and, in general, acting together for our mutual protection, and advancement, as occasion may require.

"We shall avoid litigation as much as possible by arbitration in the Grange.

"We shall advance the cause of Education among ourselves, and for our children by all just means within our

power. We especially advocate for our agricultural and industrial colleges that practical agriculture, domestic science and all the arts which adorn the home be taught in their courses of study.²²

The Grange was the first secret society to admit women to full membership. This feature of the grange was first suggested by O. N. Kelley's niece, Miss Carrie Hall, of Boston, who gave many good suggestions for the development of the social features of the Order²³. The Grange, as an organization, stood for the equality of the sexes economically, socially, and politically²⁴. It was in favor of prohibition and used its increasing efforts to bring this question before the people and to bring about state and national prohibition²⁵. In the local granges the social, the educational, the moral and the fraternal features were of especial importance, and were prominent in both the state and the national order²⁶.

²² Atkeson, Semi-Centennial History of the Patrons of Husbandry, pp. 66-71.

²³ Kelley, op. cit., p. 16; Andreas, op. cit., p. 264.

²⁴ Kelley, op. cit., pp. 24, 56, 73.

²⁵ Andreas, op. cit., p. 264; Kelley, op. cit., p. 23.

²⁶ Kelley, op. cit., pp. 24, 36, 42, 44.

ATTEMPTS AT SOLUTION

III

The Grange was, in the early stages of its development, as it now is, an organization which influenced many different phases of society. For this reason it appealed strongly to a pioneer people.

The key note of the Declaration of Purposes of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry is that of its purpose: to develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood¹. The Grange stood for good will and good fellowship among its members and in the community. It discouraged litigation in settling of disputes and encouraged arbitration². This was in keeping with the grange policy of acting together, and was also partly prompted and fostered by a distrust of and a dislike for the legal profession. There was a grange court to which it was urged, that all questions of dispute among grange members should first be submitted for trial. It is estimated that this practice of arbitration saved the patrons of Kentucky \$100,000 by avoiding litigation during the year 1875. Thus the practice of arbitration may be a financial saving as well as a

¹Atkeson, Semi-Centennial History of Patrons of Husbandry, p. 70.

²Ibid., p. 70.

peace preserver³. The thought that Patrons must not go to law was kept before the members of the organization by discussions and by practice⁴.

Although the organization discouraged litigation it stood for law and order. Sometimes vigilance committees were appointed from among the grange members. It was the duty of this committee to suggest what steps should be taken with reference to suppressing thefts and robbery, that had become prevalent in the communities. The Kickapoo Grange had a vigilance committee for this purpose⁵.

The duties outlined by the Half-day Grange for its vigilance committee were that they should keep surveillance over any suspicious characters; look out for stolen stock, and attempt to capture the thieves. The members of the committee were to receive compensation according to services rendered, and all members of the grange were to give them gratuitous hospitality when they were on duty⁶.

³"Grange Courts", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (May 24, 1876), p. 103.

⁴"Patrons Do Not Go To Law", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (November 11, 1874), p. 366; "Arbitration", *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 347; Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (December 23, 1874), p. 403.

⁵"Grange Vigilance Committee", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (September 30, 1874), p. 307.

⁶Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (January 13, 1875), p. 11.

The grange believed in rendering mutual assistance in the recovery of stock, and advocated the publication of accounts of stock that had strayed away, was missing, or had been taken up by any of the farmers of the neighborhood⁷.

The preservation of game was a problem to which the grange gave much attention. There were many discussions on this subject, and resolutions relating to various ways of preservation were passed by many local granges. Lyman Creek Grange No. 791 gave notice that the law for the preservation of game would be enforced⁸. Valentine Grange declared it would enforce the game law within the limits of its grange district⁹. A resolution was passed by the Lynn Grange requesting that our state legislature should pass a law prohibiting the sale of all kinds of wild fowls and the shipment of wild fowls over the railroads of the state¹⁰. Capitol Grange went on record to do all in its power, individually and collectively to prosecute to the full extent of the law any persons found hunting birds

⁷Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (November 11, 1874), p. 365.

⁸"Preservation of Game in Kansas", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (November 11, 1874), p. 365.

⁹Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (October 14, 1874), p. 323.

¹⁰Ibid., (November 11, 1874), p. 365.

protected by law¹¹. Shannon Hill Grange also took action for protection of birds and enforcement of the game law. Its members passed a resolution not to allow any one to kill birds on any farm within the jurisdiction of their grange and to prosecute to the full extent of the law any one found so doing¹². The action of the granges cited is typical of the action and sentiment of local granges in general. The farmers wanted to prevent the killing and destruction of those birds and fowls that were useful and a blessing to man in furnishing food and in destroying injurious insects.

Another problem of vital importance to the farmers was the prevention and control of prairie fires. The members not only cooperated with each other in this work, in a local way¹³, but also united their efforts with other influences which induced the state legislatures to enact more stringent laws in regard to prairie fires¹⁴.

While the grange strove to promote law, order, and material benefits, it aimed, also, to foster the fraternal

11 Ibid., Vol. XIII (June 2, 1875), p. 171.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid., Vol. XII (November 11, 1874), p. 366; Ibid., (November 18), p. 363; walnut Valley Times, (Ellisboro, Kansas), No. 39, October 23, 1874.

14 Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (December 22, 1875), p. 403; Ibid., Vol. XII (November 18, 1874), p. 363.

spirit, to develop the mental powers and to increase educational and social opportunities. An editorial says, "If the Grange movement does nothing more than to stimulate its members into more activity of thought, leading them to study into the science of success in their calling and teaching them to become living members of society and the body politic it will have accomplished a work worthy of the effort"¹⁵.

The Grange has been defined as a great fraternal organization of farmers working together for mutual advantage. No provisions are made for benefits in the Order, but if a member is sick or in want he is to be given any needed assistance¹⁶.

Kansas put to test this fraternal feature of the Grange and became debtor to the Order, not only to the Granges of their own state, but to those of other states as well. The grasshopper ravages of 1874 left many families destitute¹⁷ and an appeal was sent out for aid¹⁸. The committee on

¹⁵ Editorial in The Home Grange (St. Louis, January, 1874), p. 13. Pamphlet in the Kansas State Historical Society Library.

¹⁶ Kelley, Patrons of Husbandry, p. 46.

¹⁷ Blackmar, Kansas History, Vol. I, pp. 778-779.

¹⁸ W. S. Hanna, "To Patrons of Husbandry", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (September 30, 1874), p. 307; W. F. Fopence, "Chats with Patrons", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (October 31, 1874), p. 330.

relief tried to conduct this work in an orderly and systematic manner¹⁹. They tried to make clear, from the first, that individual calls could not be answered. All contributions made were to be sent to the committee and all disbursements were to be made by it²⁰.

This committee, in order to obtain information concerning the needs of the destitute people in those counties which had suffered most severely from the raids of the grasshoppers, presented an estimate of the amount that should be allowed for each county as follows: Osborne, \$10,000; Smith, \$12,000; Phillips, \$10,000; Norton and the unorganized county of Decatur, \$5,000; Rooks and the unorganized county of Graham, \$5,000²¹.

This committee in asking for aid told of the conditions in those counties from which they reported. They said that many families were suffering for want of the bare necessities of life. There were hundreds if not thousands of women

¹⁹ The Duty of the Grange Toward our Frontier Settlers, in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (November 11, 1874), p. 356.

²⁰ Popenoe, Chats with Patrona, in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (November 18, 1874), p. 363.

²¹ This report was signed by John Bissel, Phillips County; L. C. Smith, Rooks County; R. B. Foster, Osborne County; J. G. Folsom, Norton County and W. M. Wellman, Smith County. Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (December 23, 1874), p. 403.

and children barefoot and in the severe winter weather. Many men were coatless. Hundreds of families had had their last wheat ground and last flour to last only a few days or weeks and then no hope of anything and some families were already living on bran²².

It was during this trying period of want and suffering that the benevolent character of the grange was made manifest. The grange of McDonough County, Illinois, sent word to look out for them about Christmas time, for they were collecting six or eight car loads of provisions to send to Kansas²³.

State Relief Agent, W. F. Popehoe, in his report made at the third annual session of the Kansas State Grange, begun at Topeka, February 16, 1875, showed that many states sent aid to Kansas through the Grange organization. These donations amounted to \$9,001 cash and \$2,514.38 not cash making a total of \$12,115.38²⁴. The report also shows that

²² Ibid.

²³ Popehoe, "Chats with Farmers", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (December 30, 1874), pp. 410-411.

²⁴ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (March 3, 1875), p. 67. Ohio had sent \$4,000; Illinois, \$911.18; Louisiana, \$800; Kansas, \$463.30; Missouri, \$147; West Virginia, \$131; Indiana, \$110; California, \$22.50; Iowa, \$22; by the hand of M. E. Hudson, \$245.75.

\$11,092 were disbursed among the needy counties²⁵. The Kansas State Grange reports show that it disbursed through the state central committee of relief \$66,000 in money and supplies²⁶.

The aid given Kansans in their time of need was greatly appreciated and gratefully acknowledged. An article in one of the Grange publications says, "Our order has been put on trial in this emergency and it has acquitted itself well. There are hundreds of families in Kansas who were brought to want. From the fraternal hand of Matron or Husband they could cheerfully accept aid. The work done by the order has been one of usefulness. The good it has done is not measurable and the Patrons of Kansas will not soon forget the Patrons of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, California, Iowa and other states who sustained us in our time of trouble."²⁷

²⁵ Ibid., Morton, Smith, Barton, Rice, McPherson, Phillips, Cowley, Reno, Morris, Mitchell, Osborne, Sumner, Wabaunsee, Pawnee, Lincoln, Jewell, Pottawatomie, Ottawa, Marion, Ellsworth, Lyon, Allen, Coffey, Butler, Jefferson, Jackson, Riley, Osage, Douglas, Shawnee, Rocks, Sedgwick, Crawford, Clay and Franklin.

²⁶ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (January 5, 1876), p. 3.

²⁷ "Relief in Time of Trouble", in Kansas State Grange Bulletin, May 10, 1876.

Many donations were made by private individuals. Some of these were not very large, but represented a real sacrifice, and helped to swell the fund for the relief of those in distress²⁸. The Kansas State Legislature appropriated \$5000 for the payment of freight upon donations sent to the granges in Kansas²⁹. The national Grange sent \$3000 to be used as the state relief committee should see fit³⁰.

Life on the farm was sadly lacking in many elements essential to the growth and development of a people. An organization such as the grange was needed to supply these elements. It was concerned with the material, the moral, the educational and the social welfare of farmers³¹.

An official historian in writing concerning the value of the grange in the social life of the community says, "Whoever heard of the farmers taking trouble to organize themselves for enjoyment until the Grange taught them that pleasure is a duty as well as labor?" He says further that high ideals in thought and action are the lessons taught by

²⁸ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (December 30, 1874), p. 412.

²⁹ Kansas Session Laws, 1875 (Topeka, 1875), p. 9.

³⁰ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (January 27, 1875), p. 27.

³¹ "Review of the Farmers' movement", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. X (December 1, 1873), pp. 354-356; Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (May 10, 1876), p. 147; Ibid., (June 7), p. 179; Ibid., (October 4), p. 359.

the grange. Thus it sets the standard of social life for the community³².

The social features of the organization are well presented in an official publication. "The Grange recognizing women as men's equal in all things, gives an influence in its educational and social working of very great value. New social ties are formed; old neighborhood feuds are bridged over, and in the discussions pertaining to the social and educational welfare of farmers, a higher and broader culture will ensue The Grange recognizes that education, good morals, and a higher culture, are essential to its permanent success and highest usefulness. In all the deliberations of the National Grange, the State Grange and subordinate organizations, the most advanced and progressive reforms in education, temperance and morals have received full sympathy and support."³³

The farmers' clubs did not seem to meet the desires of the young people for social life³⁴, but the Grange was

³² Edward Winslow Martin [pseudonym of J. D. McCabe], History of the Granger Movement or the Farmers' War Against Monopolies (Chicago, 1874), p. 437.

³³ Mason, "The Patrons Handbook", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII, p. 124; Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (October 10, 1874), p. 201.

³⁴ Ibid., Vol. IX (July 1, 1872), p. 201.

an organization which included the entire family. Because of the varied character of the meetings of the subordinate granges there was something for each member of the family to do. The business session included both men and women, old and young, for be it remembered, the grange admitted women to full and equal membership with men, and was the first secret organization that did this³⁵. The lectures were open to the public and all were invited and urged to attend. The literary programs were miscellaneous in character so that a place was frequently made for children to take part. Moreover, there were songs, drills and plays for the entertainment of all³⁶.

Subjects pertaining to the social, the educational, and the business interests of the members were regularly on the program for discussion. Special committees were entrusted with the duty of providing for music, for literary features, and for amusement. To develop ideas was the purpose of every meeting of the subordinate grange³⁷.

³⁵ Idem., Vol. XII (September 16, 1874), p. 291; "The Grange", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (May 17, 1876), p. 156; Ibid., (May 24), p. 163; Back, op. cit., p. 290.

³⁶ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (March 24, 1875), p. 93; Idem., Vol. XIV (August 9, 1876), p. 251; Back, op. cit., p. 290.

³⁷ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (August 11, 1875), p. 215; Ibid., (July 21), p. 227; Ibid., (August 11), p. 251.

The time before the meeting was called to order, the recess, and after the adjournment were periods which afforded opportunity for visiting and were enjoyed by all. Often, too, there were socials or festivals. These were usually attended by large crowds and did much to advance the interests of the grange and also to develop community spirit³⁸. Such affairs were usually written up as news items and social events. These reports brought to the public the fact that the Grange was an organization playing an active role in the community. A few of these items will suggest something of what the local organizations were doing.

Prairie Grove Grange had a social meeting November 28. There was an abundance to eat, a literary program, and a general good time³⁹.

Tomorrow Grange held its annual reunion November 15. The music, songs, essays, speeches, and other interesting features lasted for about four hours⁴⁰.

Avondale Grange, No. 461, had election of officers, a wedding and a feast. Visitors from three granges were

³⁸ Back, op. cit., pp. 281; Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (December, 15, 1875), p. 383.

³⁹ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (December 9, 1874), p. 386.

⁴⁰ Ibid., (December 16), p. 386.

present, as well as many who were not. Members of the Order. Altogether, it was a very important affair⁴¹.

Picnics were a factor in the social life of the grange. There were few rooms that were large enough to accommodate the crowds attending these public meetings or special programs, and the groves afforded a place of assemblage and were well used and enjoyed during the warmer seasons in summer⁴².

The social influence of such gatherings spread even beyond the limits of the grange and developed ties of friendship which might otherwise never have been formed⁴³. Accounts of these gatherings, too, formed a part of the reading material of the general public, for they were always given publicity by the newspapers and magazines. Extracts from a few of these reports of picnics will suffice to show something of their importance in the life of a community.

Summit and Jackson counties had a picnic, a feast, and a general good time at Frazier's grove, Henssenger Falls, Kansas, with John B. Otis as speaker of the day⁴⁴.

⁴¹ Idem, Vol. XIII (January 27, 1876), p. 27.

⁴² Idem, Vol. XIV (October 28, 1876), p. 369.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 280-281; J. S. Swingle, Interview, July 8, 1939.

⁴⁴ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (August 5, 1874), p. 244.

There was a Harvest Home Picnic by the Patrons of Butler County at Conner's grove, south of Eldorado on August 27, 1884. A grand social and reunion was reported. Speeches, music and dancing made up the program⁴⁵.

The picnic at Floral was reported as a pleasant affair. It was held in Stone's grove. There was a program of music, short talks, papers, a feast, and a general good time.⁴⁶

"The Farmers' Fourth" was an expression coined because the celebration of Independence Day was a great occasion for the grange and all other farm organizations⁴⁷. Those who recall these events tell us that the reading of the Declaration of Independence and a patriotic address, which sometimes became a political speech, were always a part of the program. The music of the day was largely of a patriotic nature.

The newspapers of the period when the grange was very popular in Kansas give many announcements of and reports concerning these Fourth of July celebrations. A few of these items will suffice to show us something of the importance of these celebrations.

⁴⁵ Ibid., (September 9), p. 283.

⁴⁶ Idem., Vol. XIV (November 8, 1876), p. 399.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

"Patrons of Husbandry in the Arkansas Valley and in the counties contiguous thereto are to have a reunion July 4. Patrons come with your families and friends.

"By Decision of County Council of Patrons of Husbandry of Sedgwick County."⁴⁸

The grangers, the Sunday School and everybody in the community assembled in John Wentworth's grove, opposite the old townsite of Plum Grove, and celebrated July 4. There was also a great celebration at Douglas by the Grangers and the Good Templars⁴⁹.

Certain feast days were well observed. Large crowds attended and good feeling prevailed⁵⁰. The harvest feast was one very generally celebrated and was usually a thoroughly enjoyable occasion. A good program was always planned for this feast. The third degree initiation meant fun, a picnic and a feast⁵¹. Then there was the monthly feast of Pomona, which always gave an evening of pleasure. There were literary features in this program, always time for visiting and an abundance to eat⁵².

⁴⁸ Helmut Valley Times, No. 14, May 1874.

⁴⁹ Ibid., July 10, 1874.

⁵⁰ Arkansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (October 18, 1876), p. 309; Helley, Op. cit., p. 31.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 57.

⁵² Duck, Op. cit., p. 290.

The grange fairs were of considerable importance⁵³.

In Kansas these were largely local. However, much interest was manifested in the State Fair. The State Grange Executive Committee adopted a set of resolutions asking the State Board of Agriculture to locate the State Fair permanently at some central point within the state. This request was made in order that the State Grange might make provisions, from year to year, to lodge large numbers of their members with cheap and comfortable quarters, and to provide facilities for holding business meetings and social gatherings. This committee also urged the patrons to support these annual exhibitions and to make them of mutual benefit to all⁵⁴.

One of the founders of the order said that the grange, in the '70's was an organization that reached out a helpful influence to woman and made her an active part of the community⁵⁵. The women appreciated these opportunities and were loyal members of the order⁵⁶.

The teaching and example of the grange raised the position of the rural woman in the home, for it caused many a

⁵³ Ibid., p. 289

⁵⁴ Andreas, History of Kansas, pp. 263-264.

⁵⁵ A. B. Grosh, "Woman Needs the Order", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (July 12, 1876), p. 219.

⁵⁶ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (April 5, 1876), p. 107; (September 27), p. 302; (July 5), p. 211.

farmer to look upon his wife more as a companion and less as a household drudge. It meant more to women than it did to men for it gave to ~~women~~ an opportunity for broader service and the cultivation of the social graces⁵⁷.

In all the activities of the grange women was on an equality with man. She was an essential factor of the order for no grange could be organized without her⁵⁸. O. E. Kelley said, "women must be considered equal with men in all respects if we ask her cooperation". He predicted that eventually our statute books and our constitution would recognize women as equal to man.⁵⁹ The payment of equal wages to women for equal work performed was also emphasized by the Patrons of Husbandry⁶⁰.

In the 7,000 granges in the United States in 1874 there were nearly 100,000 women who were being trained in parliamentary practice, in debate, and in business principles. This influenced them to demand the right to exercise the ballot in government, local, state and national, for in

⁵⁷ Luck, op. cit., p. 281.

⁵⁸ Kansas Farmer, Vol. I (December 15, 1873), p. 374.

⁵⁹ Kelley, op. cit., p. 73.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 73.

the grange women voted on all questions equally with men⁶¹. However, there were certain restrictions in official positions, for not every office was open alike to women of the order⁶². One historian of the movement says that the grange was conservative in its attitude toward woman suffrage, and when resolutions favoring it were presented in state and local organizations they were frowned down⁶³.

In Kansas the grange was very strong and by October, 1873, the membership there almost equaled Iowa in relative proportion of granges to agricultural population⁶⁴. When the question of woman suffrage was being agitated in 1874 two reasons were assigned for it, the temperance movement and the influence of the grange⁶⁵. The temperance crusade reached its height there in 1875. The republican state platform of 1874 declared drunkenness a great menace to modern society, and further declared in favor of any legislation both general and local, as experience should show to be most effectual in destroying this evil⁶⁶.

⁶¹ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (April 8, 1874), p. 107;
Ibid., April 18, p. 16.

⁶² S. E. Winsor, "The Grange", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (May 18, 1876), p. 155.

⁶³ Ibid., op. cit., p. 299.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Dwight L. Thatcher, in Lawrence [Kansas] Journal, March 18, 1874.

⁶⁶ Salont Valley Times, No. 33, October 9, 1874.

A newspaper of Kansas of that period says in substance that in the temperance revolution woman is exercising the leadership which is daily becoming more potential and in the latter she has a participation which is moulding the opinions and breaking down the prejudices of the great conservative class of the country, the farming population. These causes are modifying public sentiment and whenever the question of admitting women to the exercise of the elective franchise comes squarely before the people for decision the change will be made manifest⁶⁷.

When the liquor question was so prevalently agitated throughout the country in 1873, the Patrons of Husbandry from the first cast their influence strongly for temperance. No one who used or who sold intoxicating liquors could be admitted to the grange nor could he retain membership in the order. The granges carried this work into all parts of the country and temperance resolutions were adopted by local, state and even the National Grange⁶⁸. In the third annual session of the Kansas State Grange charges were brought against one of the masters of a local grange for opening and conducting a liquor saloon and a billiard hall. It was recommended that he be suspended and be notified of the

⁶⁷ Lawrence Journal, March 19, 1874.

⁶⁸ Duck, op. cit., pp. 297-298.

charges against him. The action of another local grange in withholding a demit from a member working in a saloon was sustained⁶⁹. The Grange again showed its opposition to the use of intoxicating liquors when it prohibited the sale of all drinks of that nature at the grange Centennial encampment in Philadelphia, in 1876⁷⁰.

An early historian of the grange says that it is the enemy of idleness and vice. It has no dealings with drunkards, swindlers, or immoral men and women. It is the foe to selfishness, and teaches the farmer that he is only a single member of a vast community of men who are engaged in the same pursuit as himself. His interests are the same as those of his neighbors, who must be considered as well as himself⁷¹.

While all phases of the grange work tended to develop the ability of its members certain features were primarily educational. The local grange may be compared to a school in which the lecturer was the teacher.

It was his duty to prepare the programs and to guide the course pursued in discussions and in all literary work. By taking part in the discussions and in the literary

⁶⁹ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (March 28, 1874), p. 91; Idem, Vol. XIII (March 10, 1875), p. 74.

⁷⁰ "Prohibition in the Grange", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (May 24, 1876), p. 163.

⁷¹ Martin, op. cit., p. 466.

programs the members of the local granges received training in parliamentary practice and in public speaking. This opened an unusual field of training for the women and gave to them as well as to the young people a most needed educational opportunity⁷². Not all the members of the Grange availed themselves of the privileges, but to those who did it gave an incentive to a larger field of usefulness and taught them to employ both intelligent and practical efforts to promote not only their own advancement but the best interests of their fellow agriculturists⁷³.

Reports from meetings of the local orders show that many granges were increasing their knowledge of agriculture. Neosho Grange No. 523 held a fruit fair at their regular evening meeting September 16, 1875. They had a display of eighteen varieties of apples, four varieties of grapes, peaches, and tomatoes of several varieties, field corn, cabbage, cucumbers and melons. Almost everyone took part in the discussion of the various products. Later a good social time was enjoyed and a new interest in the grange aroused.⁷⁴

72 Black, Granger Movement, p. 285; "The Grange's Objective View Points", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (June 14, 1876), p. 137.

73 Ibid.

74 "How to Make a Grange Meeting Profitable", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (October 6, 1875), p. 315.

Falls Grange No. 913, Chase County, Kansas, did good work. Their hall was appropriately furnished and splendidly equipped. An account of one meeting will show that they had an excellent organization. They conducted the business meeting in a very systematic and able manner. On this particular evening was an exhibit of farm products. Each one who had made a contribution was called upon to tell about his product. Then came a general discussion in which both men and women took part. Agricultural topics such as new types of wheat and transportation were discussed with interest. They announced an initiation service for the next meeting and requested every one to bring some farm product of special importance with him.⁷⁵

Many granges provided regular and systematic educational features. Capital Grange of Topeka was very successful in this phase of the work. This organization provided for a lecture course. It secured the services of prominent educators and college men of the state. The course included ten lectures and was widely advertised. These were free to all, both members and non-members, but members of granges were especially urged to attend.⁷⁶

⁷⁵"Falls Grange No. 913", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (September 1, 1876), p. 276.

⁷⁶"Grange Lecture Course", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (January 6, 1876), p. 3. This course was to include ten

lectures were a part of the program of the meetings of the subordinate grange. Sometimes there were special speakers, as the national grange officers or the lecturer of the state grange⁷⁷. The responsibility for this part of the program lay with the subordinate grange lecturer and if no one else had been secured to do this then it became his duty. He was supposed to read a short article or to make remarks upon some subject related to agriculture, horticulture, or floriculture. Each member, too, must take some part in the evening sessions⁷⁸. To get the rural people to read more books was another purpose for which the subordinate organization was striving. They were encouraged to invest a little each year in books, while the library was urged upon all the local granges with varying results⁷⁹.

The grange indirectly and in a general way did much for the cause of education. The ordinary work of the order,

lectures pertaining to agriculture or related subjects. These general subjects were: agriculture, botany, geology, entomology, practical instruction as to laws of life and preservation of health; comparative anatomy and veterinary practice, elementary mechanics, laws and practices relating to finances and taxation, bookkeeping, business forms and common contracts and cooperation in buying and selling.

⁷⁷ ibid., op. cit., p. 236.

⁷⁸ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (October 4, 1876), p. 339.

⁷⁹ ibid., (August 10, 1876), p. 259.

the formal work, the business routine and incidental discussions, all tended to educate. In many granges libraries were established, essays were read, addresses were delivered, and discussions had upon practical topics relating to the farmer's work and to that of his household⁸⁰. No systematic educational work had been done in the grange. A course was needed that would call for regular and methodical study. The grange wanted the younger members to apply themselves to study and to develop whatever latent ability they possessed. They wanted also a course along scientific lines which would appeal to the more studious of the older members and which would furnish information that both the cultivator of the field and the keeper of the house could apply in carrying out their work. It was hoped that this would do much to elevate the position of the farmer and to place him on an equal plane with those of other vocations in the social and intellectual world⁸¹.

The grange was having an influence toward creating a desire for an education. This was shown by the items, reports, and letters that came in from many sections of the country. There were statements that the arts, sciences, and practical questions of life were being brought before

80

Franklin G. Adams, "Education in the Grange", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (October 20, 1875), p. 330.

81 Ibid.

the people through the medium of the grange⁸².

The agitation for the need of better educational opportunities began to take definite shape. One evidence of this is the set of resolutions passed by the Emporia Grange January 16, 1876. These expressed in a general way the attitude of the farmers of Kansas with regard to the use of funds for higher education in Kansas. These resolutions are quoted below.

"Whereas, looking from our standpoint there appears to be a determined disposition on the part of some of the educational institutions of this State to appropriate the funds of our Agricultural College, thereby diverting it from the ends for which it was created, leaving farmers without any means of acquiring a scientific knowledge of agriculture, and without an institution of learning devoted to their interests, therefore,

"Resolved, that it is the sense of this Grange and Council that we ask our representatives and senators elect to use their influence to defeat any measure that may tend to the diversion of the funds (or any part of them) from the object for which they were intended.

⁸²Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (August 30, 1876), p. 233.

"Resolved, that we ask the different Granges and Councils throughout the State to give this matter proper attention at their earliest convenience thereby helping to sustain an institution devoted to our common good.

"Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be published in the county papers, Kansas Farmer, Topeka Commonwealth, and Spirit of Kansas, and that a copy be sent to our senators and to each of our representatives".⁸³

The Kansas State Grange had a standing committee on education of which Franklin G. Adams was secretary⁸⁴. Mr. Adams, together with the other members of the committee, made a study of the educational conditions of the country. They investigated the common school system and the course of study pursued in the high schools and colleges with the view of promoting the educational facilities of agricultural and industrial classes, which included eighty-eight per cent of the children of the state. The agricultural class alone included fifty-nine per cent.

Adams also gave a report of the investigations which his committee had made. Country children ranked lower

83

J. G. Taylor, Secretary, in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (February 5, 1875), p. 36.

84

Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (December 20, 1876), p. 449.

educationally than city children. One reason for this was the difference in opportunities for attending school and the difference in the type of school attended. In the city the school term was nine months with skilled teachers, graded classes, intelligent supervision, libraries, cabinet specimens, and needed apparatus and equipment for studying and for teaching. In the country were untrained teachers, short terms of school, no libraries or other facilities for making work more interesting or more effective. The work in the country school was summed up as superficial, defective in method, and narrow in scope.

The committee made suggestions for improving the rural schools. The curriculum should be enlarged to include the sciences and to teach more of nature. There should be higher qualifications for teachers and longer terms of school. These changes should be brought about by the necessary legislation. There should be a course of study for the country schools; and there should be provisions for a country high school. A statute law⁸⁵ of Kansas provided for a distribution of school moneys to such county high schools and for their general management.

85

Kansas Session Laws, 1876 (Topeka, 1876), p. 260.

The law for union and graded schools had been in-operative, also the law for township high schools. The committee recommended that the State encourage the founding of such schools by financial aid.

The committee furthermore advised that normal institutes be conducted and that the teachers connected with the state institutions should give their assistance in this work. This would diffuse more widely, the benefits of the institutions of higher learning among the people of the state. There should be more money for the district school which did not receive its just share of the fund for educational purposes. Then there was a plea that the Patrons of Husbandry consider the agricultural college their school and see that it rendered service to the farmers⁸⁶.

The state grange took action upon the report of this committee on education and adopted the following resolutions: to provide, by law, for a specific course of study for common schools; for a system of county normal institutes in which those students who had been educated free at the Kansas State Agricultural College should be detailed to give instruction and that all money appropriated by the

86 Franklin G. Adams, "Education and Industry," in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XV (January 3, 17, 31, February 7, 14, 1877), pp. 2-3, 26-27, 46-47, 56-57, 66-67.

state for normal education should be used for the support of the normal institutes; that all educational interests of the state should be under a state board of education to have charge of normal institutes and of all educational institutions of the state except the Agricultural College⁸⁷.

By 1873 a demand was made in Kansas that the aim of the Agricultural College should be to make thoroughly educated farmers⁸⁸. Ninety-seven per cent of the people in Kansas were engaged in agricultural and industrial pursuits, while only three per cent were found in the learned professions. The Agricultural College was intended for the people and should meet the needs of the laboring classes. The head and the hand should be educated at the same time⁸⁹.

Kansas met the demand. Her schools were among the first to introduce the "new education". Workshops, printing offices, telegraph offices, kitchen laboratories, and sewing rooms were fitted out. Fifty minutes of educational manual labor was added to the daily work of every student.

⁸⁷"Grange Education", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (December 27, 1870), p. 474.

⁸⁸Frank Wilson Blackmar, "History of Federal and State Aid to Higher Education in the United States", being No. 9 in Contributions to American Educational History, Herbert B. Adams, editor, (Washington, 1890), pp. 301-302.

⁸⁹Frank Wilson Blackmar, "Higher Education in Kansas, being No. 27. in Contributions to American Educational History Herbert B. Adams, editor, (Washington, 1890), pp. 80-81.

"Kansas State Agricultural College was among the very first free schools of college grade in the United States where systematic daily manual work became an obligatory branch of instruction for all male students. And it was the first institution of any kind in this country which reduced the minimum age of admission to such instruction to 14 years."⁹⁰

A legislative act of especial importance to the rural people was the law that provided for a uniform system of county normal institutes and made appropriations for conducting these. This act went into effect March 7, 1877⁹¹.

The policy of the grange toward education as given above may be summarized briefly. The grange meetings were educational for they were orderly in procedure and were conducted in accordance with parliamentary rules. At each meeting topics of current interest were discussed and usually there was a literary program. The reading of newspapers was encouraged and did increase among the rural people. The grange advocated a hall and a library for each of its local organizations. This was not realized in all the subordinate granges but some few did have both. The grange favored legislation to raise the standard of the schools. They had a committee on education, composed of

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 81.

⁹¹ Kansas Compiled Laws, C. W. F. Dassel, compiler, (Topeka, 1881), p. 834.

competent men, to study rural conditions in other states in general and in Kansas in particular, to suggest and support legislation for the betterment of rural schools, and to keep before the people the need for longer terms, better trained teachers, and practical education.

The Patrons of Husbandry was now the largest secret organization in the world. It included 24,000 granges and 1,800,000 members. To this great number was added each month 400 organizations and 18,000 members⁹². It was a bond of union. It did away with sectional animosities and established mutual confidence and friendship among rural people everywhere. It was a progressive order and discussed problems of local, state, and national interest⁹³. It applied the principle of cooperation to the economic problems of the day.

"We propose meeting together, talking together, buying together, and in general acting together for our mutual protection and advancement as occasion may require", was a part of the "Declaration of Purposes" adopted by the national convention of the Patrons of Husbandry held at St. Louis in 1874. This was a direct warning to all those who

⁹² Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (May 3, 1876), p. 139.

⁹³ John G. Otis, "Address Capitol Grange Topeka, December 4, 1875", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (December 16, 1875), p. 396; Commodore, Topeka, Kansas, December 1, 1876.

were engaged in the selling of merchandise or dealing in any kind of goods that the farmer either purchased or sold.⁹⁴

By cooperative methods in business the order asserted that it had saved at least \$30,000,000 to its members thus far; that \$17,800,000 were invested in business operations the sphere of which was daily increasing⁹⁵. It boasted that it appealed to, and aided all phases of life, the economic, the political and the social⁹⁶.

Many serious problems were facing the people at this time. The economic system of the East and the South influenced immigration to the West. Then came the Civil war and following in its path poverty and desolation in the South. In the rebuilding of the waste places and in laying the foundation of an everlasting commonwealth the Grange was a very efficient helper. There were unlimited resources to be developed and large areas of sparsely populated land to challenge the settlers.

The bountiful yield of the fertile fields of the West increased production beyond the demands of the market and the enormous wheat crop of 1872 set the farmers to thinking

⁹⁴ Nevins, The Emergence of Modern America, p. 171.

⁹⁵ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (May 3, 1876), p. 139.

⁹⁶ Ibid., July 26, p. 263.

effectively. Up to July of that year the flour export was considerable and was valued at close to seventy-one million dollars. However, so little of this large amount came to the farmers that they claimed they could not make day's wages by raising wheat on their own land. On the other hand, persons handling the wheat were becoming rich⁹⁷.

California was the foremost state of the Pacific coast in cooperative organizations. The granges there made a systematic and business-like study of markets, shipping, money loans, and freight monopoly. From this study they concluded that agriculture is closely connected with and interested in the prosperity of all mechanical, manufacturing and commercial interests⁹⁸. This principle governed the farmers of California in their cooperative enterprises. They were very successful and were, doubtless, influential in inducing other states to try to solve their financial problems in the same way. These organizations claimed that they benefited the people of California to the amount of \$10,000,000 in 1874. The Patrons controlled fruit driers, cheese factories and banks⁹⁹. They built warehouses and

⁹⁷ Ezra S. Carr, The Patrons of Husbandry on the Pacific Coast, (San Francisco, 1875), pp. 51, 52, 55, 57.

⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 17-24.

⁹⁹ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (October 31, 1874), p. 331.

handled thousands of tons of grain. The Yuba City warehouse held over 5,500 tons. It shipped 7,000 tons of wheat in one year and saved \$13,000 to the farmers¹⁰⁰.

In Oregon, too, cooperative enterprises flourished. The warehouse at Albany held 180,000 bushels of wheat. Once there was a plan to double the capacity and to build a mill that would grind 200,000 bushels of wheat during the summer¹⁰¹.

Reports of successful cooperative enterprises came from all parts of the United States. The Border Grange of Virginia reported a bank and a warehouse for tobacco as doing a good business¹⁰². The Missouri State Grange was doing a growing business. It had agencies for the sale of produce, one for the sale of live stock, and another for the sale of fruit¹⁰³. The Ohio State Grange reported a prosperous year. It claimed that the State agent did a business of nearly \$1,000,000 on a capital of \$4,500¹⁰⁴. Fifty-one granges in Indiana saved their members an average of \$678.50 per grange; eighty-five granges an average of

¹⁰⁰Idem., Vol. XIV (September 6, 1876), p. 296.

¹⁰¹Idem., Vol. XIII (August 11, 1875), p. 261.

¹⁰²Idem., Vol. XIV (June 29, 1876), p. 203.

¹⁰³Ibid., (February 23), p. 59.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., (March 15), p. 91.

\$407.25 per grange. This saved \$71,195.25 to 136 of the 1,991 granges in the state¹⁰⁶. The Patrons of Lorraine County, Ohio, were to build a cheese warehouse at Wellington¹⁰⁶. The grange elevator at Indianola, Iowa had a capacity of 32,000 bushels and was considered the largest building of its kind in the country¹⁰⁷. Nebraska State Grange contemplated putting up a factory to make plows, cultivators, and other agricultural implements¹⁰⁸.

The fact that Patrons were really shipping their own wheat under their own business organization to a foreign port and a foreign market was proof to them of success. "On September 5, 1876, the Star of Hope, the first vessel loaded wholly with grangers' wheat was towed down from Vallejo to San Francisco, and on Monday last she gave her sails to the breeze out of the Golden Gate."¹⁰⁹

In Kansas, too, cooperative enterprises were rapidly organizing. The Patrons' Agency of Shawnee County formulated a constitution and by laws by which to conduct the commercial interests of the grange. That it should be done on a cash basis was one of the laws¹¹⁰. The Franklin

106 Ibid., (April 26), p. 131.

106 Idem., Vol. XII (September 30, 1874), p. 307.

107 Ibid., (December 16), p. 376.

108 Ibid., (December 16), p. 376.

109 Ibid., (September 30), p. 307.

110 Mem., Vol. XIV (April 26, 1876), p. 131.

County Grange reported that their cooperative store had forced other stores to reduce prices, yet they had under-sold all stores and handled good goods¹¹¹. Pavilion Grange of Wabasha County had commenced a cooperative plan of buying and selling¹¹². A Patrons' Commercial Association was organized at Council Grove, Morris County, January 3, 1875¹¹³. A plea was put forth to induce people to patronize their home industries. There were woolen mills at Blue Rapids, Kansas, and the Great Western Manufacturing Company at Leavenworth¹¹⁴. The Mission Cheese Factory, twenty miles southeast of Topeka, was a great success. The Louisville Grange No. 3 of Pottawatomie County built a cheese factory¹¹⁵. Grange stores had been started at Holton, Jackson County, and at Dover, Shawnee County¹¹⁶. The Belvoir Grange, Douglas County, had a cooperative live stock company, and thus the organizations in cooperative industry were rapidly increasing¹¹⁷. Occasional discourag-

¹¹¹ Ibid., (July 26), p. 230.

¹¹² Ibid., (July 12), p. 219.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., Vol. XIII (December 15, 1875), p. 394.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., Vol. XIV (March 15, 1876), p. 83; (June 22), p. 203.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., (March 22), p. 91.

ing reports came. One county reported that there was no common ground on which to unite, that they had spent \$3000 in trying to cooperate and were about to give it up¹¹⁸.

They attempted to conduct business in a systematic and legitimate way. The executive Committee of the State Grange required the councils of the cooperative interests to be incorporated, and their agents to be placed under bonds of not less than \$5000 which must be approved by the councils. No agent would be permitted to use the seal of the state agency until this was done¹¹⁹.

Reports from many counties showed that arrangements had been made to do much of the business through the agencies and that the sale of crops was left largely with them¹²⁰. This plan was not very successful and complaints came from different sections of the state. The patrons of Kansas expected, as they had a right to do, that the order would assist them in putting their surplus products upon the market. Although the crops were in part harvested and in another sixty days all would be matured, no provisions had as yet been made for the disposal of these products¹²¹.

118 Ibid., (January 5), p. 3.

119 Ibid., Vol. XIII (March 3, 1875), p. 67.

120 Ibid., (November 24), p. 371.

121 Ibid., (August 4), p. 244.

But these agents met with many difficulties in conducting their business. Many of the largest and best known establishments refused to make any arrangements with grange agents. While in some places, as Chicago, the business firms entered into a combination not to sell to clubs or granges except at retail rates. Then the next move was to sell inside the grange price no matter what the price might be. But not all the difficulties were without the grange for some members of the organization refused to take implements after they had ordered them. "Three factors are necessary for success", said the agents, "confidence, concentration and cash"¹²³. For success in an organization including a considerable number of people, there must be co-operation. This was not found fully among farmers for their occupation tended to promote independence in business¹²³.

Many cooperative enterprises in Kansas, as in other states, failed for many of these were without a head or a connecting link, without the principle of unity essential to make a cooperative undertaking successful¹²⁴. In order

¹²³"State Grange Agents Report", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (March 3, 1875), p. 67.

¹²³Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (August 11, 1875), p. 251.

¹²⁴Idem., Vol. XIV (November 22, 1876), p. 409;
ibid., op. cit., p. 263.

to prevent further failures the grange officials urged the members to perfect their organizations under county, state and national heads and to put capable men in control. So many failures indicated that good business principles were lacking¹²⁵. There were many loyal patrons in Kansas but they realized the grange was losing favor¹²⁶.

These failures accentuated the adverse criticisms, some of which had been prevalent from the beginning of the organization. It was called a money making scheme. Too long a term and too much power was given to the few principal officials for these might become rich in five years. The exclusive character of its membership indicated that the benefits would be personal rather than general. It was a scheme of O. M. Kelley's to get money for it was not clear where the money was to go¹²⁷. Nor were all the criticisms made by non-members. The higher degrees of the order met with much opposition and were considered aristocratic in tendency. The grange was an order, democratic in its teachings, and stood for the will of the people. The organization advocated social, educational and business

125 Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (August 11, 1875), p. 251.

126 Idem., Vol. XIV (August 30, 1876), p. 251.

127 Idem., Vol. IX (August 16, 1872), p. 249;
Idem., (August 1), p. 238.

purposes and these required hard work but not degrees.¹²⁸

The report of the State Board of Agriculture gives a summary of the general result of cooperative attempts in Kansas in so far as their immediate results were concerned.

"The first cooperative enterprises of any consequences in Kansas were instituted in the early '70's by the Patrons of Husbandry. Plans for immense operations were formulated and quite a number of stores were organized. For a time a large volume of business was transacted. The history of these enterprises, however, has been largely one of failure, as few of them have withstood the test of time. Numerous factors contributed to their downfall. Neither has the history of subsequent cooperative organizations been one of unbroken success."¹²⁹

There were and are some splendid successes of cooperation in Kansas, however, in contrast to the many failures. The Johnson County Cooperative Association has done a successful business at Olathe. The prime mover in the enterprise, and the president of the association for nearly ten years was the Hon. W. H. Toothaker, the Master of the Kansas

¹²⁸ Idea., Vol. XIII (April 21, 1876), p. 123; May 20, p. 103; June 2, p. 203; June 16, p. 187; June 30, p. 203, July 21, p. 227; Idea., Vol. XIV (October 18, 1876), p. 369.

¹²⁹ Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Nineteenth Biennial Report, 1913-1914 (Topeka, 1915), p. 154.

State Grange. He has a national reputation in Grange work. The Rochdale plan was adopted. The association began business in July, 1876, with a capital of \$849.99. Their sales during the first year amounted to \$41,598.86, and their profit was \$1,500.29. After ten years of successful operation their records showed a capital of \$40,916.83, and their annual profit amounted to \$104,038.41 by July 10, 1886. Besides the profits a reserve fund had also been set aside for building purposes, with which a three story iron and brick building, 130 x 128 feet was erected. The third floor served for the Grange meetings and an audience hall. The building was erected at a cost of \$75,000.

The Patrons' Cooperative Bank at Olathe was under the management of the same men. It was organized June 7, 1883. They began with a capital of \$75,000 in \$100.00 shares. Not more than ten shares could be held by any one person, nor could any share holder have more than one vote. This bank was founded for the purpose of protecting those who had money to place on deposit in banks.

Besides the store at Olathe there were some twenty or thirty smaller cooperative stores in the state. An especially successful store was to be found at Constant, in Cowley County, and another was located at McLouth, Jefferson County. There were stores also at Cadmus, Oakwood, Mound

City and Spring Hill 130.

The centennial encampment at Philadelphia in 1876 was both a social and a business enterprise on a large scale. The building contained 1200 rooms and was said to be the largest and most complete hotel in the world at that time. It contained a large hall 80 by 140 feet. This afforded a place in which grange and society meetings, lectures, entertainments, any other social functions and religious services might be held. This hotel was especially designed for the accommodation of members of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry, agricultural societies, farmers clubs, sovereigns of industry, temperance organizations, and kindred societies with their friends who proposed visiting the great Centennial Exposition, either individually or in bodies. Every effort was made to make the sojourn of the

130

Amos G. Warner, "Three Phases of Cooperation in the West", in History of Cooperation in the United States, being Vol. VI of James McManus University Series in Historical and Political Science, Herbert Baxter Adams, editor, (Baltimore, 1888), p. 384-386.

In his "Three Phases of Cooperation in the West", in Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. II, No. 1 (March, 1887), p. 37, Mr. Warner mentions a successful cooperative store at Manhattan, Kansas. However, according to Mr. Swingle, this store quit business in 1887.

visitors at the encampment enjoyable¹⁵¹.

The Centennial Encampment was so novel in its features that it attracted the attention of an English correspondent for the London Times. He tells in some detail of the encampment and his visit there. He first gave a description of the building, then told of the entertainment. It impressed him that the guests were a happy family, "who had assembled from all parts of the United States. Many of them had never met before yet all were conscious of being members of the one society with common interests and aims, common topics of conversation and of having secret signs and pass words by which they might distinguish each other from non-members". He found there people of varying degrees of wealth and of social opportunities and all meeting on terms of social equality.

There was no servant problem, for the work was done by members of the order who were ambitious to visit the fair and yet make their expenses and something more. He found among the guests some young ladies who had spent three years in Europe, and among the waitresses were school teachers and farmers' wives, some of whom had their

151. Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (May 24, 1876), p. 163.

help at home. "They met here as Grangers among Grangers."

He concluded by saying that all this is but putting into practice the granger creed that "labor is not degrading but ennobling."¹³²

The political attitude of the Patrons of Husbandry was fairly well stated by W. E. Corbett in a letter to O. H. Kelley, discussing the various features of the Order. There were the social features to draw together and to harmonize; the intellectual features to school and to educate; the mystic features to keep them wary and discreet; but there must be no political features, in the common acceptance of the term. Their work should be to seek to control politicians and office holders so that they would talk, legislate and decide on the side of the people on all occasions. They would use this power only so far as to protect their own interests, they would do injustice to no man, but they should hold the position of a third party in order to control the balance of power¹³³.

¹³²"The London Times on the Grange", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (October 4, 1876), p. 339.

¹³³Kelley, op. cit., p. 26.

Our state governments should declare that corporations, of whatsoever kind or nature, managed to the detriment of the public interests would forfeit their charters. Briefly stated, the state should recognize no power above that of the people. Railroads and other transportation companies should subsist only so long as they subserve public interest. Legislatures and judges should learn that all political power lies with the people.¹³⁴

The Grange professed no political doctrines beyond the acknowledged axiom that, for any purpose, political or otherwise, in union there is strength. Some of its teachings were: politics should be divested of all partisan bias; the farmer should know his rights, his obligations, his whole status as a citizen; he should think for himself in order to act for himself and to be a factor in the community. He should know and understand the principles of government.¹³⁵ It taught further, that, as citizens, its members should be educated in political economy. It was the duty of a patron, as a citizen, to participate in all the activities of his party. He should attend the primary meetings and help to nominate capable and honest men. He

134 Ibid., p. 244.

135 "The True Scope of the Grange", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (September 30, 1876), p. 319.

should work against rings and trickery¹³⁶. In brief, grangers should take a proper interest in the politics of the country and should discourage sectionalism¹³⁷.

In Kansas the Grange soon made its influence felt in a political way. In 1873 there were one senator and five representatives; in 1874, three senators and five representatives and in 1875 four representatives were elected to the Kansas State legislature from among the Grangers¹³⁸.

¹³⁶ Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (May 31, 1876), p. 171; ibid., (June 7), p. 179.

¹³⁷ ibid., (July 12), p. 219.

¹³⁸ Andreae, op. cit., p. 264. Among the Grangers elected in November, 1873, were Henry Bronson of Douglas County to the state senate; to the House of Representatives; Samuel Stoner of Atchison; W. W. Maltby of Johnson; James C. Cusey of Miami; John Boyd of Montgomery, and A. J. Fiery of Lyon.

In 1874, J. B. Schaeffer, of Jefferson; Wm. Sims of Shawnee, and W. W. Maltby of Johnson were elected to the Senate. Geo. W. Brown of Nemaha; H. M. Angell of Cherokee; M. C. Bates of Marion; S. A. Wirt of Rice, and W. B. Spurlock of Jefferson, were elected to the House. In 1875, John P. Davis from Brown; W. H. Toothaker from Johnson; Eli Davis from Miami and John Kelley from Sedgewick were elected to the House. James C. Cusey, a member of the Grange was nominated for Governor in 1876. John M. Goodin had a majority of 725 for congressman in the second district, carrying ten of the fifteen counties. J. M. Hudson the reform candidate for Congress in the third district received 9,932 votes while Judge Brown his successful opponent received 14,851. Butler County, in 1873, had a Republican majority of 947 but in 1874 gave Hudson 80 majority. The election showed the influence of the Grange education.

By 1873 the political situation in Kansas was greatly disturbed. No election of state officers occurred in that year but independent farmers' tickets were put into the field in a number of counties¹³⁹. In 1874 all of the elements of opposition to the dominant Republican party were joined under the "Independent Reform Banner". The name Democrat was so closely associated with the terms "rebel" and "copperhead" that those who did not longer wish to stay with the Republican party yet did not want to join forces with the Democrats found a place in the Independent Reform party¹⁴⁰. The following were sample planks in the platform of the latter party in Kansas in 1874:

"We favor the repeal of the tariff on lumber, and that the tariff on necessities of common life be abolished or, reduced to the lowest possible figure and that the tax on income be restored.

"The railroad corporations should be made subservient to the public good; that while we shall discountenance any action calculated to retard the progress of railroad enterprise, we work injustices to these invaluable auxiliaries.

¹³⁹ Buck, op. cit., pp. 82-83.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 80; Kansas Daily Tribune Lawrence September 2, 1873.

to commerce and civilization, yet we demand such constitutional legislation upon this subject, both State and Federal as will effectually secure the industrial and producing interests of the country against all forms of corporate monopoly and extortion."¹⁴¹ They also adopted a plank into their platform for the election of the president and senators by direct vote¹⁴².

The Grange insisted that it knew no politics, that there was no such thing as a Grange candidate and that it stood for honor and patriotism. It taught members to be active workers in the party with which they were affiliated and to demand that candidates for office be men of truth and integrity. By placing such men in office they might hope for reform, for tax reduction, for restraint of monopolies, and for laws honestly administered¹⁴³. It favored railroad legislation, opposed the mortgage system, and favored cooperative buying and selling. Thus the Granger movement became a potent factor in political development all over the West and in Kansas joined ranks with the other reformers of the period in the Independent Reform Party.

¹⁴¹Andrews, op. cit., p. 264.

¹⁴²Novins, op. cit., p. 175.

¹⁴³Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (August 9, 1876), p. 251.

Its influence helped to elect James A. Harvey the Independent Reform candidate to the U. S. Senate in 1873.¹⁴⁴

Those who enjoyed the elective franchise could send men to the legislative halls but whether or not they would support the policies to which they had been pledged could not always be determined. The tariff law of 1875 was unfavorable to the farmers of the West. It passed the Senate by a vote of 30 for to 29 against. Senators Harvey and Ingalls, both of Kansas, were recorded as absent, and not voting. Either of their votes could have prevented the passage of this tariff which was deemed more burdensome than helpful to the producers of the West.¹⁴⁵

But the pages of history show that the farming population were not discouraged if things did not come to pass at their first efforts. They kept up the struggle for laws more favorable to agriculture and all industrial classes, and they have to some extent succeeded in their efforts in that some of the policies for which they contended have been enacted into law.

¹⁴⁴ William E. Connelley, Kansas and Kansans, (Chicago, 1918), p. 1187; Nevins, op. cit., p. 174.

¹⁴⁵ "The New Tariff Tax Law" in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (March 24, 1875), p. 92. Confirmed by "Congressional Record", Proceedings and Debates of the Forty-third Congress, Second Session, Vol. III, (Washington, 1875), p. 2067. The final vote is recorded on page 2066.

SOCIAL COOPERATION OBTAINED

IV

No attempt will be made to enumerate all the achievements which the Grange claims to have accomplished, but certain great benefits are generally attributed to the influence of the Grange, and some of these should be mentioned.

It is commonly admitted that the attempts at cooperation in the business of manufacturing, buying, and selling, were a failure, but there were great lessons, both educational and social, derived from this phase of the movement. The reasons for the failure as a business enterprise have been well presented by Amos G. Warner who is quoted below.

"In the first place they were handicapped by their lack of familiarity with each other and with a deficiency bequeathed to them by some centuries of isolated independence. There was in the second place an almost total lack of the knowledge of business principles as was indicated from the beginning by their inability to appreciate the real and industrial services rendered by middle men. Perhaps, also, one of the most mischievous characteristics of those who engaged in early cooperative enterprises was an overwrought idea of what cooperation could do for them;

they expected too much and quit trying when their expectations were not fulfilled. Back of this was also the thought in mind of each individual that he could, if he chose, get along very well by the old plan of distribution, and if, at any time, it happened to seem to him the more convenient one, he abandoned the cooperative enterprise without regret.

But the position of the agricultural class as the possessors of capital and credit was a distinct advantage Any enterprise need not have lacked capital. The fact that most of them did lack that very thing proves only the latent distrust, and still powerful conservatism that controlled the actions, even of those who seemed to be most enthusiastic converts to the idea of cooperation."¹

There were many causes for failure. Unwise industrial enterprises; lack of proper legislation, making impossible the incorporation of true cooperative companies; inadaptability of rural life and character to the cooperative method of managing business; the general indebtedness of the farmers; the peculiar, intense hostility of the regular

¹ Warner, "Three Phases of Cooperation in the West," in History of Cooperation in the United States, pp. 387-389.

tradesmen, and the local causes such as quarrels and jealousies may be considered a brief summary of the causes of failure².

Not all of the attempts of the farmer in a business way ended in failure. The farmer learned the power of co-operation and the power of organized efforts. In discussing the attitude of the pork packers with regard to the price paid the farmers for their hogs, the New York Times said that the farmers had outwitted the pork packers. When the farmer could not get a fair price for their hogs they refused to sell to the packers, and declared that they would pack their own pork. The pork came in slowly, not fast enough to meet the demands of the packers. Then the packers began offering higher prices, but not until they offered what the Grangers considered a fair price would they sell to the packers³.

Some permanent benefits resulted from the attempt at business cooperation. The spirit of inquiry was created, and this meant much to the rural people, for they learned to investigate conditions pertaining to their interests. The people were brought together socially and for business

² Ibid., Buck, Grange Movement, pp. 274-276.

³ As quoted in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (August 4, 1876), p. 243.

purposes. A business system was developed⁴. Furthermore, the farmer forced lower rates upon the retailers. He formed the habit of going to first sources for supplies and this has resulted in a permanent pruning of the powers of local dealers. He began to shop by mail and greatly helped this method of buying toward its present importance. He learned his own incapacibilities. A certain amount of success was achieved, and the possibility of success under right laws with good management was demonstrated.⁵

The farmer not only ventured into the field of business but into the political field as well. He learned that by organization and united effort he could command enough strength to become a potential factor in the political life of the community, the state, and the nation⁶. The power of the grange reached to the national capital and affected the conduct of public affairs. It entered the halls of the state legislature and came on down to the county and the township. Its influence secured greater economy in the conduct of public business and a closer scrutiny as to tax levies and disbursements of public money⁷. By 1874 the

⁴E. P. Cotton, "What the Grange Has Done", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (February 2, 1876), p. 36.

⁵Warner, op. cit., p. 391., Buck, op. cit., pp. 276-278.

⁶Pierson, "Rise of the Granger Movement", Popular Science Monthly, Vol. XXXII, p. 201.

⁷Edwin L. Godkin, "The Next Descent upon the Treasury", in Nation, Vol. XVII (July 31, 1873), p. 156.

press had begun discussing the farmers' problems and the farmers' movement. Legislative committees were beginning to consider the demands of the farmer. The Federal House of Representatives recognized that a new element was arising in politics⁸.

In the great railroad controversy the corporations owning railroads were made to realize that those roads had been built for the West; that the West demanded a voice in their operation; and that they should benefit the people for whom they were built. All this controversy led to an investigation of the whole system of discriminations and local extortions. Public opinion was against the railroads. They were compelled to give up some of their most objectionable practices such as partial and unfair treatment of their patrons. This resulted in great good to both the East and the West and was the beginning of putting into practice the theory that railroads were built to serve the people⁹.

The executive committee of the National Grange sent broadcast to the Granges of the different states of the

⁸ Pierson, loc. cit., p. 391.

⁹ Charles Francis Adams, Jr., "The Granger Movement", in North American Review, Vol. CLX (April, 1875), p. 423.

Union the query "has the grange benefited your community". Thirty-nine states and territories sent back answers so similar in meaning that the answer from the single state of Mississippi is quoted as a fair summary of all "The Grange has united the farmers fraternally; improved them socially and educationally; benefited them in inducing a diversity of crops; in cheapening transportation; and in practicing economy in general cooperation."¹⁰

A pioneer member of a grange in Franklin County, Kansas in writing of the effect and benefits of the work of the order says in substance that the fruits of the grange have been neither transient nor insignificant. They are everywhere manifest in the greater consideration in which the agricultural community is held, in the more independent bearing of the farmers, in their better acquaintance not only with each other but with men of affairs generally. It has made many able to participate in public discussions and to conduct a business meeting with ease and efficiency. The best features of the Grange have survived.¹¹

¹⁰ J. K. Truethood, "The Grange, what is its Value to the Farmers of Our Country?", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (April 23, 1875), p. 129.

¹¹ Andreas, History of Kansas, p. 603.

The abolishing of sectionalism was one of the avowed objects of the Grange. That the North and the South began to recognize that they had interests in common and that they could begin to think of each other in more friendly terms is due in part, at least, to the influence of the Grange. The East and the West, too, were brought into closer sympathy with each other¹².

The educational opportunities, both those afforded by participation in the regular work of the order and those secured by legislation, are important permanent benefits that have been given to the rural people by the Grange¹³. But the benefits derived from the social features of the Order surpass all others. It has induced more reading and thinking; it has fostered education, good morals, and prohibition of liquors for all its members.¹⁴ The Grange was an important factor in giving to the rural people a way of escape from their isolation and in making them a recognized power in forming the policy of a new state¹⁵.

After a careful consideration of the various phases of the work and the influence of the Grange the conclusion

¹²Samuel L. Butterfield; Chapters in Rural Progress, (Chicago, 1913), p. 149.

¹³Ibid., p. 149.

¹⁴Hudson, "Patrons Handbook", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII, p. 124.

¹⁵Butterfield, op. cit., p. 149.

reached is that the fraternal, the educational and the social influences are greatest. At the time the movement was spreading so rapidly ~~and~~ was so enthusiastically heralded as a remedy for all the many troubles of the farmer, these features did not attract so much attention. There are many reasons for this. Some of the other features, especially the economic and the political, were noised abroad and brought to the attention of the public in a more spectacular way. The social and the educational movements were going on quietly in each meeting that was held, and did not attract much attention from the outside world. But here were formed habits of thought and habits of social intercourse that have been felt in all the activities of life.¹⁶

16

Buck, op. cit., p. 300.

LITERATURE CITED

- Adams, Charles Francis Jr., "The Grange Movement", in North American Review, Vol. CLX (April, 1875), p. 483.
- Adams, Franklin O., "Education and Industry", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XV (January 3, 17, 31, February 7, 14, 1877), pp. 2-3, 26-27, 46-47, 66-67, 86-87.
- Adams, Franklin O., "Education in the Grange", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (October 20, 1875), p. 330.
- "Agricultural Exposition of Corporate Law", in Nation, Vol. XVII (August 23, 1875), p. 140.
- Andreas, A. T., compiler, History of Kansas. Andreas, Chicago, 1883. A compilation of accounts of the growth and development of Kansas from an uninhabited territory to a wealthy and important state.
- "Arbitration", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (November 4, 1874), pp. 346-347.
- Atkeson, Thomas Clark, Semi-Centennial History of the Patrons of Industry. Grange Book Company, New York, 1910.
- Atkeson, Thomas Clark, "Six Decades of Grange Achievements", in The National Grange Monthly, Vol. XXII, No. 10 (October, 1925), pp. 3, 27. Atkeson is the official historian of the Grange and in consequence views its accomplishments in roseate hues.
- Blacomer, Frank Wilson, "Higher Education in Kansas", being No. 27 in Contributions to American Educational History, Herbert Dexter Adams, editor. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1900.
- Blacomer, Frank Wilson, "History of Federal and State Aid to Higher Education in the United States", being No. 9 in Contributions to American Educational History, Herbert Dexter Adams, editor. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1900.

Blackmar, Frank Wilson, editor, Kansas history, 2 vols. Standard Publishing Company, Chicago, 1912.

Buck, Solon Justus, The Agrarian Crusade, being Vol. XLV of The Chronicles of America, Allen Johnson, editor. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1920. Contains abbreviated accounts of author's larger work on The Granger Movement.

Buck, Solon Justus, The Granger Movement 1870-1890, being Vol. XLIX of Harvard Historical Studies. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1913. Present leading authority on farm movement.

Butterfield, Kenyon L., Chapters in Rural Progress. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1915.

Carr, Ezra S., The Patrons of Husbandry on the Pacific Coast. A. L. Bancroft and Company, San Francisco, 1876. Carr was a late professor of agriculture in the University of California and Past Master of Temecocal Grange.

Commonwealth, 1876. Topeka.

Connelley, William E., History of Kansas Newspapers. Kansas State Printing Plant, Topeka, 1916. A history of the newspapers and magazines published in Kansas from the organization of Kansas territory, 1854, to January 1, 1916, issued by Kansas State Historical Society and Department of Archives.

Connelley, William E., Kansas and Kansans, 5 vols. Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago, 1916. Connelley is secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

Cotton, E. P., "What the Grange Has Done", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (February 3, 1876), p. 36. Cotton was Master of the State Grange of Vermont.

"Duty of the Grange Towards Our Frontier Settlers in Need of Help", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (November 11, 1874), p. 366.

94

"Falls Grange No. 913", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII
(September 1, 1875), p. 270.

Godkin, Edwin L., "Another Aspect of the Farmers' Movement",
in Nation, Vol. XVII (July 31, 1873), pp. 68-69.

Godkin, Edwin L., "The Next Descent Upon the Treasury", in
Nation, Vol. XVII (July 31, 1875), p. 186.

"Grange, The", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (May 17, May 24,
1876), pp. 155, 163.

"Grange Courts", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (May 24, 1876),
p. 163.

"Grange Education", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (December
27, 1876), p. 474.

"Grange Lecture Course", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV
(January 6, 1876), p. 3.

"Grange Vigilance Committee", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII
(September 30, 1874), p. 307.

"Grange's Objective Points, The", in Kansas Farmer, Vol.
XIV (June 14, 1876), p. 187.

Gresh, A. B., "Women Needs the Order", in Kansas Farmer,
Vol. XIV (July 12, 1876), p. 219. One of the
Founders of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry.

Hanna, W. S., "20 Patrons of Husbandry", in Kansas Farmer,
Vol. XII (September 30, 1874), p. 307. Chaplain
of the State Grange of Kansas.

Home Grange. St. Louis, January, 1874. One of a series
of pamphlets.

"How to Make a Grange Meeting Profitable", in Kansas
Farmer, Vol. XII (October 6, 1875), p. 515.

Hudson, J. E., "The Patrons Handbook", in Kansas Farmer,
Vol. XII (April 23, 1874), p. 124.

Kansas Compiled Laws, C. W. F. Deasler, compiler. Grange
and Company, Topeka, 1861.

Kansas Session Laws, 1875, 1876. Kansas Publishing House, Topeka, 1875, 1876.

Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Nineteenth Biennial Reports. Vol. XXIV (1913-1914). Topeka, 1914.

Kansas Daily Tribune, 1875. Lawrence

Kansas Farmer, Vols. IX-XV (1872-1877). Topeka. A weekly farm magazine favorable to the Grange movement. By error of chronology there is no Volume XI.

Kelley, Oliver Hudson, Origin and Progress of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry in the United States; a history from 1866 to 1875. J. A. Sengseler, Philadelphia, 1875. Kelley, as founder and secretary of the National Grange, here presents its official history for the period covered.

Lawrence Kansas Journal, 1874.

"London Times on the Grange", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV (October 4, 1876), p. 339.

Martin, Edward Winslow [pseudonym of J. D. McCabe], History of the Grange Movement; The Farmers' War against Monopolies. National Publishing Company, Chicago, 1874. "This work was written at the height of the Grange Movement and is especially useful for giving insight into the granger's viewpoint, but naturally, it is prejudiced and unreliable." (Buck).

Nation, Vol. XVII (December 11, 1873), New York, p. 378.

Revine, Allen, The Emergence of Modern America, 1866-1876, being Vol. VIII of a History of American Life, Arthur Meier Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox, editors. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927. The most modern general account of social and cultural conditions for the period covered.

"New Tariff Tax Law, The", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (March 24, 1875), p. 92.

Otis, John G., "Address at Capitol Grange, Topeka, December 4, 1875", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (December 18, 1875), p. 365.

"Patrons do not go to law", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (November 11, 1874), p. 355.

Pearson, Frederic Logan, The Last American Frontier. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1910.

Pierson, Charles A., "The Rise of the Granger Movement", in Popular Science Monthly, Vol. XXII (December, 1897), pp. 199-204.

Reynolds, W. F., "Chats with Patrons and Replies to Correspondents", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (October 21, November 18, December 30, 1874), pp. 330, 303, 410-411; Vol. XIII (January 27, 1875), p. 27. State Relief Agent of the Kansas State Grange.

"Preservation of Game", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (November 11, 1874), p. 355.

"Prohibition in the Grange", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XII (March 25, 1874), p. 91.

"Relief in Time of Trouble", in Kansas State Grange Bulletin, May 10, 1876.

"Review of the Farmers' Movement", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. X (December 1, 1873), pp. 354-355.

Seven founders of the Order, in The National Grange Monthly, Vol. XXIII (October, 1885), p. 15. Brief biographical notations concerning Oliver Hudson Kelley, William Saunders, John Richard Thompson, William A. Ireland, A. B. Groen, John Trimble, and Francis Marion McDougal.

Snow, Albert, "Cooperation in the Northwest", in History of Civilization in the United States, being Vol. VI of Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Herbert Baxter Adams, editor. H. Murray, Baltimore, 1898. A scholarly work by a student of Herbert Baxter Adams.

Smalley, M. V., "The Isolation of Life on Prairie Farms", in Atlantic Monthly, Vol. LXXII (September, 1872), pp. 373-382.

"State Grange Agents Reports", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (March 3, 1875), p. 67.

Ammer, William Graham, "Ghosts of the Farmers Discontent",
in Nation, Vol. XVI (June 3, 1873), p. 301.

Swingle, J. S., "Recollections of the Hammett Grange."
A manuscript account by Mr. Swingle who joined the
Grange in 1873.

Taylor, J. G., secretary, "Resolutions of the Emporia
Grange", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII (February 3, 1873)
p. 38.

Titus, Frank, "The Grange Problem in Kansas", in Kansas
Magazine, Vol. IV (September, 1873), pp. 288-293.

"True Scope of the Grange", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV
(September 20, 1876), p. 315.

Trueblood, J. L., "The Grange, What is its Value to the
Farmers of Our Country?", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIII
(April 23, 1876), p. 129.

Walnut Valley Times [Eldorado, Kansas], 1874.

Turner, Amos G., "Three Phases of Cooperation in the West",
in History of Cooperation in the United States, being
Vol. VI of Some Social Movements in the
National and Political Science, Herbert Baxter Smith,
Editor. N. York, Baltimore, 1888.

Wilder, Daniel Webster, Annals of Kansas, 1841-1866.
Kansas Publishing, Topeka, 1866.

Winsor, G. E., "The Grange", in Kansas Farmer, Vol. XIV
(May 17, 1876), p. 156.